

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 180391
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INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 180391

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, SF, SA, ETRD

SUBJECT: SANCTIONS AND RHODESIA

AT THE US/UK BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS ON RHODESIA JULY 28-29, IT WAS AGREED THAT THE US WOULD PREPARE A PAPER SUMMARIZING SOME PRESSURES WHICH MIGHT BE APPLIED ON SOUTH AFRICA IN SUPPORT OF A RENEWED UK/US INITIATIVE. THE TEXT OF THE PAPER FOLLOWS AND SHOULD BE DELIVERED TO THE FCO PROMPTLY TUESDAY MORNING SO THAT IT CAN BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT AT THE CABINET MEETING SCHEDULED FOR AUGUST 2. YOU SHOULD EXPLAIN THAT US DECISIONS ARE PENDING ON THE SPECIFIC MEASURES DESCRIBED IN THE PAPER AND WILL TAKE INTO ACCOUNT UK'S VIEWS.

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DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE UK AND THE US ON JULY 28 AND 29 DEALT WITH PRESSURES WHICH MIGHT BE THREATENED AND APPLIED TO BRING ABOUT THE FOLLOWING RESULTS:

- CONVINCE THE FRONT LINE STATES THAT THE UK AND THE US ARE SERIOUS ABOUT TAKING THE STEPS NECESSARY TO BRING

ABOUT SMITH'S DEPARTURE, AND THUS BRING THE FRONT LINE STATES TO USE THEIR INFLUENCE WITH THE NATIONALISTS TO AGREE TO SATISFACTORY TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS.

- PERSUADE VORSTER TO FORCE SMITH TO ACCEPT OUR PROPOSALS LEADING TO THE END OF HIS REGIME. TO BE CREDIBLE, THE MEASURES THREATENED SHOULD BE ONES THE UK AND THE US ARE PREPARED TO IMPLEMENT.

THE MEASURES WHICH WERE CONSIDERED ARE THE FOLLOWING:

A. A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO. SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BE TOLD THAT THE UK AND US ARE PREPARED TO SEEK A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA BECAUSE OF ITS CONTINUED SHIPMENT OF ARMS TO RHODESIA. SHOULD THE UK AND US DECIDE TO IMPLEMENT THIS MEASURE, THEY WOULD FIRST SEEK A SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION, UNDER THE CURRENT CHAPTER VII FINDING ON RHODESIA, STATING THAT AFTER A CERTAIN DATE IF SOUTH AFRICA SHIPS ARMS TO RHODESIA IT WOULD ITSELF BE THE SUBJECT OF A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO. THEREAFTER, ONCE EVIDENCE IS ASSEMBLED THAT SOUTH AFRICA WAS SHIPPING ARMS, A SECOND RESOLUTION WOULD BE INTRODUCED AND ADOPTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL IMPOSING A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO. BOTH SIDES, HOWEVER, RECOGNIZE THAT THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL MAY NOT BE WILLING TO HAVE A TWO-STAGE
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PROCESS AND WOULD INSIST UPON IMMEDIATE IMPOSITION OF THE ARMS EMBARGO. IN THAT EVENT, THE UK AND US WOULD SUPPORT APPLYING THE RESOLUTION TO SOUTH AFRICA.

B. MEASURES RELATING TO OIL. BOTH SIDES CONSIDERED WHAT STEPS MIGHT BE TAKEN TO PREVENT SOUTH AFRICA FROM SUPPLYING RHODESIA'S OIL NEEDS. THEY AGREED THAT OIL WAS FAR AND AWAY RHODESIA'S MOST STRATEGIC IMPORT AND ACTION TAKEN WITH RESPECT TO OIL, PERHAPS MORE THAN ANY OTHER, WOULD CONVINCINGLY DEMONSTRATE THAT THE UK AND US ARE DETERMINED IN THEIR COURSE, AND BRING VORSTER TO INSIST ON SMITH'S WITHDRAWAL. BOTH SIDES ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT THE USE OF OIL AS A POLITICAL WEAPON IS CONTROVERSIAL AND COULD BE SEEN AS AN UNWELCOME PRECEDENT IN OTHER CIRCUMSTANCES. THUS, IN DISCUSSING OIL IN THE UNITED NATIONS WE WOULD ANTICIPATE THE QUESTION OF PRECEDENT BY POINTING OUT THAT ACTION IS BEING TAKEN UNDER A CHAPTER VII FINDING.

A RANGE OF MEASURES WERE DISCUSSED WITH RESPECT TO OIL, INCLUDING INTERMEDIATE STEPS, A MANDATORY EMBARGO ON ALL OIL SHIPMENTS TO SOUTH AFRICA, AND SUPPLEMENTARY

MEASURES.

1. INTERMEDIATE STEPS. ALL SUPPLIES OF OIL TO SOUTH AFRICA, BY RESOLUTION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, COULD BE REQUIRED TO POSSESS CERTIFICATES OF END-USE, ISSUED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, FOR EACH CONSIGNMENT OF OIL SHIPPED TO SOUTH AFRICA. THESE CERTIFICATES WOULD SPECIFY THAT NONE OF THE OIL BEING SUPPLIED WAS TO BE RE-EXPORTED TO RHODESIA. BOTH THE US AND UK RECOGNIZE THAT SUCH END-USER CERTIFICATES WOULD BE INEFFECTIVE IF SOUTH AFRICA WERE DETERMINED TO SUPPLY OIL TO RHODESIA. SOUTH AFRICA COULD DRAW UPON ITS OWN PRODUCTION, MAINLY COAL LIQUEFICATION, OR FROM ITS OWN RESERVE SUPPLY. A VARIATION ON THIS
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AN ALTERNATIVE MEASURE WOULD BE TO REQUIRE THAT SOUTH AFRICA ISSUE A BROAD ASSURANCE AGAINST TRANS-SHIPMENT TO RHODESIA. SOUTH AFRICA WOULD CERTIFY THAT IMPORTED OIL WAS NOT BEING TRANS-SHIPPED TO RHODESIA AND THAT IMPORTED OIL WOULD NOT SUPPLEMENT SOUTH AFRICAN PRODUCTION OR SOUTH AFRICAN RESERVES USED TO SUPPLY RHODESIA. SUCH A BLANKET OFFICIAL ASSURANCE COULD BE REQUIRED OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

2. AN OIL EMBARGO. THE US AND UK RECOGNIZE THAT IF SOUTH AFRICA EVADES ITS CERTIFICATION GUARANTEES, THEN THE NEXT LOGICAL STEP IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL WOULD BE A MANDATORY OIL EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. ENFORCEMENT MEASURES COULD RANGE FROM EMPLOYING CLANDESTINE AND SPECIAL INTELLIGENCE SOURCES TO MONITOR OIL TANKERS ARRIVING IN SOUTH AFRICA TO POLITICAL PRESSURE APPLIED AGAINST COUNTRIES INVOLVED IN SANCTIONS' VIOLATIONS. SUCH TECHNIQUES, AT BEST, COULD REDUCE SIGNIFICANTLY THE FLOW OF OIL TO SOUTH AFRICA BUT COULD NOT COMPLETELY STEM THE FLOW.

3. A NAVAL BLOCKADE. A COMPLETE CESSATION IN THE FLOW OF OIL TO RHODESIA COULD BE ENSURED ONLY BY A NAVAL BLOCKADE. BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT THIS, AS WELL AS OTHER ENFORCEMENT POSSIBILITIES, PRESENTED SERIOUS
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C. A CORE GROUP OF MAJOR TRADING NATIONS. IN EARLIER EXCHANGES, THE US AND UK HAD AGREED TO PURSUE THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CORE GROUP OF SOUTH AFRICA'S MAJOR TRADING PARTNERS. ITS PURPOSE WOULD BE TO TAKE MEASURES TO ENSURE THE STRICTEST ENFORCEMENT OF SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA. THE CORE GROUP WOULD BE A DEVICE WHEREBY PRESSURE COULD BE BROUGHT AGAINST THOSE OF SOUTH AFRICA'S TRADING PARTNERS THAT ARE LAX IN ENFORCING SANCTIONS. A CORE GROUP WOULD CONSIST OF THE US, UK, CANADA, FRANCE, GERMANY, JAPAN, NETHERLANDS, IRAN AND SWITZERLAND. THE US AND UK AGREED THAT MEASURES SHOULD BE TAKEN TO FORM THE CORE GROUP IN MID-AUGUST, AT A TIME WHEN SUCH STEPS WOULD SERVE TO ENHANCE OTHER PRESSURES AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA.

D. A MORATORIUM ON NEW INVESTMENT AND BANK LOANS. THE US SUGGESTED THAT CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO IMPOSING A MORATORIUM ON NEW INVESTMENTS IN AND BANK LOANS TO SOUTH AFRICA IF SOUTH AFRICA CONTINUES ITS VIOLATION
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DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:SESCUDERO

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S/S:SGOLDSMITH

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 180391 TOSEC 080320

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Sent Date: 02-Aug-1977 12:00:00 am
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TAGS: PORG, ETRD, SF, SA, US, UK
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